●357 567 The domestic bondsmen, the servants, are an important element in the social structure and the economic life. Neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda does slavery exist -- or rather, it no longer exists. In fact, the Batussi do not need slaves for the Bahutu are all bondsmen of the Batussi rulers and provide all the services that are required of slaves in other parts of East Africa. On the other hand, until the turn of the century, there existed quite a brisk slave trade out of Urundi to other areas. This was carried on under the influence of the Arabs and the coastal dwellers, with the Wawira, Bassuwi, Wassumbwa, and Wanjamwesi acting as middlemen. Not only did the Barundi sell their countrymen as slaves, in particular the women and girls, but also orphans were sold by their relatives, and even children by their own parents (No. 19, p. 212). The purchase-price was paid in salt, pearls, and iron hoes. Pretty Batussi girls fetched the highest prices and were destined for the harems of the Arabs, prosperous coast Negroes, or the Wanjamwesi. As recently as 1900 there were public slave auctions in Uha (Heru) and in Usámbiro. Mainly slaves from Ruanda (Kissaka) and Urundi were sold there. A witness wrote at that time: "All the roads are full of slave trains, almost all of them women and girls. Eight out of ten female slaves perish, for these children of the mountains only rarely survive in a different climate" (No. 14, 1900, p. 178). At present, as the German occupation progresses, these atrocities have been stopped, and only rarely and under the cloak of secrecy is a girl or a child from Urundi sold into slavery in the neighboring areas.

357 597 592 [97] In Urundi itself, however, in the households of many influential families, especially of the Batussi, there are, instead of the domestic slaves, bond servants or maids (abaschumwi). Although they are personally free, they have to work for the master and receive only room and board in exchange. They get their jobs by a kind of adoption; someone who has no relatives or who, for some reason or other, wants to leave his family will offer his permanent services to a prosperous Murundi or to a mutwale. The latter takes him into his home and treats him

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357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[567] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

We have said that the *muami* did not possess the land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *muami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them. The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

The relations between agriculturists

Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Servants' labour belonged completely to their masters. These servants (*abatindi* for men, *abaja* for women) were either war captives or simply very poor people (this is the first meaning of the word *abatindi*). Their payment consisted in receiving food, shelter, and clothing from their masters. Sometimes it was agreed that after a certain period of time (such as three years) the master would either pay the bride-wealth to provide the servant with a wife or would even give him his own daughter.

Family heads were the only persons who could dispose of their own labour resources, with the exception of that part required by the lord and the political authority.

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Almost any Ruanda family head could command enough rights to capital goods and labour to make his rugo self-supporting, with a certain surplus for his chief and his overlord. But these rights were not finally his. The ultimate control of the factors of production was not his. Labour, land, and cattle, in that order, were increasingly slipping away from his control. Command of the factors of production and political power was so interwoven in Ruanda social structure that they are to be analysed together in the following chapter devoted to the political organization.

593 784 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a 582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are [357] the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are [565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter. [564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the approach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the [591 342] *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.) 591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 [184] The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[15]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.